

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 /026 W

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R 021755Z AUG 73

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2293

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PARIS 21022

EXDIS

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, FR, UNESCO, EGEN, MILI

SUBJECT: PRE-VACATION MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER JOBERT

AUGUST 1, 1973

REF: (A) STATE 115467 (B) STATE 144970

1. SUMMARY: IN TOUR D'HORIZON PRE-VACATION CALL ON FOREIGN MINISTER JOBERT TODAY I THANKED HIM FOR FOREIGN MINISTRY'S SUPPORT FOR FRENCH PARTICIPATION IN SPOKANE EXPOSITION, INQUIRED AS TO STATUS OF FRENCH RESPONSE ON FRELOC, LEFT AIDE MEMOIRE MAKING POINTS SUGGESTED IN REF A AND ASKING QUESTIONS OUTLINED REF B RE U.S. ATTENDANCE AT UNESCO MINISTERS OF EDUCATION CONFERENCE, AND HAD GENERAL DISCUSSION OF FRENCH ATTITUDES ON ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND MILITARY ISSUES. WE AGREED TO MEET AGAIN IN EARLY SEPTEMBER. END SUMMARY

2. I CALLED ON FOREIGN MINISTER JOBERT THIS AFTERNOON PRIMARILY FOR A TOUR D'HORIZON PRIOR TO LEAVING FOR THE US ON VACATION. AT THE OUTSET I MENTIONED USG APPRECIATED FOREIGN MINISTRY'S SUPPORT OF FRENCH PARTICIPATION IN SPOKANE EXPOSITION. I SAID I REALIZED DECISION WAS NOW UP TO MINISTRY OF FINANCE AND NOTED I HAD MENTIONED TO FINANCE MINISTER GISCARD D'ESTAING LAST FRIDAY OUR HOPES HE WOULD BE ABLE TO SUPPORT FRENCH PATICIPATION.

3. I ASKED MR. JOBERT ABOUT STATUS OF THE FRENCH
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RESPONSE OF FRELOC. HE REPLIED STATUS WAS "ACTIVE." UNTIL SEVERAL WEEKS AGO, THE "CIVIL SERVANTS" HAD NOT WANTED TO WORK ON THIS ISSUE. HE HAD NOW ASKED FULL-SCALE REVIEW AND WORK WAS UNDERWAY. HE SAID HE HOPED

TO GIVE US VERY QUICKLY A DOWN PAYMENT, WHICH WOULD LET US SHOW (PRESUMABLY TO CONGRESS) THAT CONCRETE PROGRESS WAS BEING MADE, LEAVING FOR LATER FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS TOWARD A FINAL SETTLEMENT.

4. AS REQUESTED REFTELS, I RAISED QUESTION OF FRANCE'S OPPOSITION AT UNESCO EXECUTIVE BOARD TO US MEMBERSHIP IN EUROPEAN REGIONAL GROUP AND LEFT AN AIDE MEMOIRE (COPY BEING POUCHED TO DEPARTMENT) ASKING WHETHER GOF WOULD SUPPORT INVITING CANADA AND US TO MINISTERS OF EDUCATION CONFERENCE IN BUCHAREST IN NOVEMBER 1973.

5. FOLLOWING THESE THREE POINTS, I SAID THE MAIN REASON FOR MY CALL WAS TO SEEK A DISCUSSION WITH HIM ON FUNDAMENTALS OF FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY. I NOTED THAT IN RECENT MONTHS ECONOMIC QUESTIONS, PARTICULARLY RELATED TO THE MONETARY SITUATION AND TO THE COMING TRADE TALKS IN GATT, HAD BEEN IN THE FOREFRONT. CRITICAL AS THESE QUESTIONS WERE, I SAID, I PERSONALLY HAD EVERY CONFIDENCE THAT THEY WOULD BE WORKED OUT, BUT THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT THIS HAPPEN IN A WAY WHICH DID NOT DAMAGE EVEN MORE FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL AND DEFENSE RELATIONSHIPS. I SAID I WOULD WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS SOME OF THESE MORE FUNDAMENTAL RELATIONSHIPS PARTICULARLY LONG-TERM POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH EUROPE AND QUESTIONS OF EUROPEAN DEFENSE.

6. MR JOBERT REPLIED THAT THE STARTING POINT FOR FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY WAS THAT THE FRENCH WANTED THINGS TO GO WELL BETWEEN THE US AND FRANCE, NOT JUST BILATERALLY, BUT ALSO WITH RESPECT TO WHAT THE US SEES AS ITS GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITIES. JOBERT SAID THE GOF HAS CONFIDENCE IN THE PRESENT USG AND ITS PERSONALITIES, WANTS TO BE HELPFUL, AND DOES NOT WANT TO ACT IN ANY WAY TO CAUSE TROUBLE FOR THE ADMINISTRATTION. MOREOVER, HE SAID, (AT TIMES HE CAN'T REFRAIN FROM USING HIS IRONIC WIT) CONFIDENTIAL

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"WE ARE BASICALLY A PEACEFUL PEOPLE; WITNESS HOW LATE WE ARE IN CARRYING OUT OUR ATOMIC TESTS."

7. IT WAS NOT FRANCE, JOBERT SAID, WHICH HAD RAISED THE ISSUES NOW CAUSING PROBLEMS BETWEEN US. IT HAD BEEN THE US SIDE WHICH MADE A PUBLIC SPEECH ON APRIL 23RD. IT WAS THE US WHICH HAD REACHED AN AGREEMENT ON NUCLEAR WAR WITH THE SOVIET UNION. FRANCE HAD NO OPTION BT TO REACT AND RESPOND TO THESE INITIATIVES. FRANCE COULD, HE SAID, BE HYPOCRITICAL AND SEEM TO MAKE CONCESSIONS WHICH WOULD ONLY BE APPARENT, BUT PREFERRED TO DEAL WITH ISSUES MORE OPENLY AND MAKE ITS POSITION CLEAR.

8. TURNING TO SPECIFIC SUBJECTS, JOBERT SAID THE MONETARY SITUATION, PRATICULARLY THE SITUATION OF THE DOLLAR, HAD CAUSED SERIOUS CONCERN IN FRANCE. HE SAID THE US COULD NOT ASK FRANCE TO SAY NOTHING IN SUCH A SITUATION. HE SAID WE (THE FRENCH) HAVE OUR THESES, YOUR HAVE YOURS, AND WE HAVE HAD NUMEROUS CONVERSATIONS ABOUT THEM IN THE PAST, INCLUDING AT THE AZORES. THE US, HE SAID, HAD NOT LEARNED ALL IT COULD HAVE FROM THESE CONVERSATIONS. HE ALSO REMARKED THAT THE MONETARY SITUATION WAS CHANGING VERY RAPIDLY, SOMETIMES MORE QUICKLY THAN EVEN THE MONETARY EXPERTS COULD UNDERSTAND. HE SAID HE BELIEVED THAT THE PRESENT SITUATION WAS TEMPORARY AND THE LEVEL OF THE DOLLAR WILL GET BETTER, RETURNING TO 4.6 TO 1 VIS-A-VIS THE FRANC BY THE END OF THE YEAR. HE INTIMATED THESE WERE ALSO FINANCE MINISTER GISCARD D'ESTAING'S VIEWS. ECHOING A REMARK OF MINE, JOBERT AGREED THAT MONETARY DIFFICULTIES COULD ALSO CAUSE DIFFICULTIES FOR DEFENSE BY UNDERMINING THE CAPACITIES OF BOTH THE US AND EUROPEANS. IN ADDITION THE SITUATION CASUED SERIOUS INTERNAL PROBLEMS FOR FRANCE IN BOTH THE MONETARY AND TRADE AREAS. HIS REMARKS IN BRUSSELS, INCLUDING THE OUTLINE OF THE FRENCH POSITION WHICH HE HAD INSISTED BE INCORPORATED IN THE MINUTES OF THE MEETING, HAD BEEN MADE NOT SO MUCH WITH FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES IN MIND BUT FOR INTERNAL CONSUMPTION IN FRANCE.

9. ON TRADE, HE SAID, THE FRENCH HAVE ALWAYS THOUGHT
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THERE WAS A LINK BETWEEN MONETARY REFORM AND THE TRADE TALKS. THEY BELIEVE THAT ONE CANNOT TAKE A POSITION ON TRADE ISSUES WITHOUT AN EYE TO THE MONETARY SITUATION. HE REFERRED TO AN EARLIER SPEECH IN WHICH HE HAD POINTED OUT THAT THE US HAD GAINED A LARGER TRADE ADVANTAGE FROM THE CONTINUED DEVALUATION OF THE DOLLAR THAN IT HAD EVER ASKED FOR IN THE TRADE TALKS. I POINTED OUT TO MR. JOBERT THAT THE US HAD ARGUED OVER A YEAR AGO IN THE OECD THAT THE MONETARY AND TRADE AREAS DID HAVE CLOSE INTERRELATIONSHIPS WHICH DESERVED STUDY BUT THAT BECAUSE OF FRENCH OPPOSITION TO THE IDEA WE HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO MAKE PROGRESS WITH IT. I SAID WE STILL AGREED WITH THE FRENCH THAT THERE WERE THESE INTER-RELATIONSHIPS, EVEN IF WE MIGHT COME TO THE IDEA FROM A DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVE. FOR INSTANCE, IT SEEMED CLEAR TO US THAT MONETARY REFORM COULD NOT BE SUCCESSFUL IF A DEFICIT COUNTRY WERE PREVENTED FROM CORRECTING ITS BALANCE OF PAYMENTS BECAUSE OF TRADE BARRIERS WHICH NEUTRALIZED THE BENEFITS TO BE EXPECTED FROM EXCHANGE RATE ADJUSTMENTS.

10. ON AGRICULTURE, JOBERT SAID THE US PROPOSAL WHICH HAD BEEN REALLY TO MUCH (EXCESSIVE). THE PROOF OF HOW BAD

THIS IDEA WAS HAD BECOME APPARENT LESS THAN TWO MONTHS LATER WHEN THE US RAN OUT OF SOYBEANS. THE US HAD BEEN ARGUING THAT THE US SHOULD PRODUCE ALL THE SOYBEANS AND THE EUROPEANS SHOULD RAISE PIGS. THE EUROPEANS HAD IN FACT RAISED PIGS ESPECIALLY BRED TO EAT US SOYBEANS AND WERE LEFT HIGH AND DRY WHEN US SOYBEANS RAN OUT. HE REMARKED THAT THE US APPARENTLY WISHED TO DO THE SAME THING FOR WHEAT, ORANGES, TOBACCO, ETC., BUT THAT FORTUNATELY THE SOYBEAN SHORTAGE HAD PROVED HOW RIDICULOUS AGRICULTURAL SPECIALIZATION WOULD BE.

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11. I SPOKE OF THE REASONS FOR THE SOYBEAN SHORTAGE AND ARGUED THAT THE ACCIDENT OF THE SHORTAGE IN ONE YEAR WAS NOT SUFFICIENT REASON TO ESTABLISH PROTECTION FOR SOYBEANS ON A PERMANENT BASIS UNDER THE COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY. JOBERT REPLIED THAT NO EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT AND PARTICULARLY NOT FRANCE COULD ACCEPT THIS REASONING. NONE OF THEM WISHED TO DEPEND ON THE US FOR FEEDING ITS POPULATION OR ITS ANIMALS. REJECTING THE ARGUMENT ABOUT THE BENEFITS OF FAVORING THE EFFICIENT PRODUCER, JOBERT SAID THE EUROPEANS WOULD PREFER TO PAY MORE RATHER THAN RUN THE RISK OF HAVING A SERIOUS SHORTAGE. HE EMPHASIZED THAT THIS WAS A FUNDAMENTAL POSITION AND NOT ONE THAT THE EUROPEANS WERE LIKELY TO CHANGE. (COMMENT: ASSUME JOBERT'S REMARK ABOUT AGRICULTURAL SPECIALIZATION IS A DISTORTED REFERENCE TO U.S. SUGGESTIONS THAT A RATIONALIZATION OF THE CAP PRICE STRUCTURE TO FAVOR LIVESTOCK OVER GRAIN PRODUCTION WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO OUR OBJECTIVE OF LIBERALIZING TRADE IN AGRICULTURE WITHOUT COMPROMISING THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE CAP. NO ONE HAS BEEN CALLING FOR RIGID SPECIALIZATION IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION OF THE KIND DESCRIBED BY JOBERT, A POINT I INTEND TO DEVELOP WITH HIM IN FUTURE MEETINGS. ON THE OTHER HAND WE SHALL CONTINUE TO IMPRESS ON THE FRENCH THAT AN ATTEMPT BY THE EC TO DEVELOP INEFFICIENT SOYBEAN PRODUCTION BEHIND THE SHELTER OF A CAP ON OILSEEDS WILL BE

STRONGLY RESISTED BY THE U.S.)

2. TURNING TO DEFENSE, JOBERT SAID "WE ARE REALLY WORRIED."

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HE SAID THERE COULD BE NO INDEPENDENCE WITHOUT DEFENSE AND NO DETENTE WITHOUT DEFENSE. THIS WAS AS TRUE FOR FRANCE AS FOR THE US, WHICH HAD BEEN ABLE TO ACHIEVE DETENTE WITH THE SOVIET UNION ONLY BECAUSE THE US HAD NUCLEAR WEAPONS. WITHOUT AN ADEQUATE DEFENSE THERE WOULD BE NO DETENTE FOR FRANCE, ONLY ALIGNMENT; THAT IS, FRANCE WOULD HAVE TO LINE UP UNDER THE WING OF ONE OR THE OTHER SUPER POWERS. JOBERT SAID THAT WHAT HE WAS SAYING TO ME HE HAD ALSO SAID TO GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV LAST WEEK IN RUSSIA.

13. JOBERT BELIEVES FRANCE HELPS OTHER NATIONS BY THIS POLICY. HE REMARKED THAT ON HIS VISIT TO HUNGARY THE HUNGARIANS, CLEARLY ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE SOVIETS, HAD ASKED JOBERT WHY HE MADE SUCH A TOUGH SPEECH IN HELSINKI. HE TOLD THE HUNGARIANS THAT HE HAD BEEN SPEAKING NOT JUST FOR FRANCE BUT FOR OTHER NATIONS AS WELL (I.E. HUNGARY).

14. I SAID THAT IN GENERAL I COULD AGREE WITH SOME OF HIS STATED GOALS BUT THAT I WAS CONCERNED WHEN FRANCE TRIED TO REACH THESE GOALS IN WAYS THAT MADE IT MORE DIFFICULT POLITICALLY OR OTHERWISE FOR THE US TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE MUTUAL DEFENSE OF BOTH COUNTRIES. EUROPE IS IMPORTANT TO THE DEFENSE OF THE US AND I BELIEVE THE US WAS IMPORTANT TO THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE. THE AREA OF BURDEN-SHARING, I SAID, WOULD BE A RELEVANT QUESTION IN THIS CONTEXT.

5. JOBERT STATED, REFERRING TO PRESIDENT POMPIDOU'S REMARKS IN REYKJAVIK, THAT FRANCE HAD SAID CLEARLY AND PUBLICLY THAT IT WANTED US TROOPS TO STAY IN EUROPE. HOWEVER, THE US SEEMED TO BE IN THE PROCESS OF REDUCING AND WITHDRAWING TROOPS PURSUANT TO AN AGREEMENT WITH THE RUSSIANS. MUST WE SAY, HE ASKED, BOTH THAT WE WANT US TROOPS TO STAY AND THAT WE WANT THEM TO BE WITHDRAWN? THIS SEEMED CONTRADICTORY TO HIM. AT THIS POINT WE HAD TO BREAK OFF BECAUSE OF JOBERT'S NEXT MEETING.

15. ON MANY OF THE POINTS, BOTH GOOD AND BAD, MADE BY JOBERT, I COMMENTED OR TOOK BRIEF ISSUE OR MADE CLEAR I HAD RESERVATIONS BUT BECAUSE OUR TIME WAS LIMITED AND WE CONFIDENTIAL

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HAD AGREED TO TALK AT MORE LENGTH IN SEPTEMBER, I WANTED TO HEAR AS MANY OF HIS IDEAS AS TIME PERMITTED. IN

PARTING JOBERT SAID THAT ALL OF THESE QUESTIONS WILL TAKE
A NEW AND INTERESTING SHAPE IN THE NEAR FUTURE AND
COMMENTED SOMEWHAT ELIPTICALLY THAT HE THOUGHT THE
MONTH OF SEPTEMBER MIGHT BE PARTICULARLY INTERESTING.
IRWIN

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: Z
Capture Date: 10 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL MILITARY RELATIONS, MEETINGS, ECONOMISTS, INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 02 AUG 1973
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: morefirh
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973PARIS21022
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: P750008-2201
From: PARIS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730869/abqcegju.tel
Line Count: 278
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: (A) STATE 115467 (B) STATE 144970
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: morefirh
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 20 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <20-Aug-2001 by izenbei0>; APPROVED <16-Nov-2001 by morefirh>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRE-VACATION MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER JOBERT AUGUST 1, 1973
TAGS: PFOR, EGEN, FR, UNESCO, (JOBERT)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005